## Message Text

**SECRET** 

PAGE 01 STATE 197410 ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ARDAY/HLK APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY NEA - MR. ATHERTON P - MR. HABIB

S/S-O-SGOLDSITH

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O 190208Z AUG 77 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

SECRETSTATE 197410

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FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, EG, US

SUBJECT: FAHMY'S SCENARIO FOR GENEVA

REF: CAIRO 13686

- 1. PLEASE GIVE FAHMY THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS FROM ME ON THE SCENARIO FOR GENEVA HE SUGGESTED TO YOU IN YOUR AUGUST 17 CONVERSATION:
- --THE SCENARIO FAHMY SUGGESTS HAS SOME INTERESTING ASPECTS THAT MAKE A GOOD DEAL OF SENSE.
- --IF WE ARE ABLE TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE PLO, BY VIRTUE OF THE PLO'S ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242, AND ISRAEL'S SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 197410

RIGHT TO EXIST, WE WOULD ASSUME THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WOULD COVER BOTH THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION IN GENEVA AND THE SOLUTION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AS PART OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

OUR SUPPORT FOR A "PALESTINIAN HOMELAND" CONSTITUTES A RECOGNITION THAT THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION INVOLVES THE

POLITICAL STATUS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. AS FAHMY KNOWS, WE HAVE SAID A SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE PROVISION FOR A PALESTINIAN ENTITY AND FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. THESE TWO ELEMENTS, TAKEN TOGETHER, SHOULD GO FAR TO REASSURE THE PLO CONCERNING THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES ON A PALESTINIAN SOLUTION, EVEN THOUGH THE FINAL FORM OF A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION CAN REALISTICALLY BE RESOLVED ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS.

--WE NOTE THAT FAHMY SUGGESTS THAT THE PLO WOULD RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST IN RETURN FOR U.S. ASSURANCES THAT WE WILL WORK FOR A PALESTINIAN ENTITY. JUST TO BE SURE THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING ON THE POINT, WE SHOULD MENTION THAT WE CONSIDER THAT ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242, WHICH STEP THE PLO WOULD ALREADY HAVE TAKEN AS A BASIS FOR OUR DIALOGUE, SHOULD INCLUDE AN ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ISRAEL, TO EXIST.

--FAHMY'S IDEA OF CONVENING GENEVA EARLY NEXT YEAR, WITH A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION IF A SEPARATE PLO DELEGATION IS NOT POSSIBLE, PROVIDES A SOMEWHAT LATER START FOR GENEVA THAN WE HAVE BEEN AIMING FOR. GIVEN THE WORK REMAINING TO BE DONE, INCLUDING ACHIEVING A FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO ALL ON PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA, WE AGREE THE SECRET

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PAGE 03 STATE 197410

CONFERENCE WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO SLIP BEYOND OCTOBER BUT BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO AIM FOR CONVENING GENEVA BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR, PROBABLY IN DECEMBER. AS WE STATED TO THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS DURING THE RECENT VISIT TO THE AREA, WE BELIEVE THAT A SEPARATE PLO DELEGATION IS IN FACT NOT FEASIBLE. WE SHOULD THEREFORE WORK TOWARD A UNIFIED DELEGATION AND ARE GRATIFIED THAT EGYPTIANS ARE CONSIDERING THIS IDEA.

--THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION IN SUCH A DELEGATION WOULD CERTAINLY BE A SUBJECT FOR OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO. BEYOND THAT WE CAN SAY THAT BY ACCEPTING 242 AND TALKING WITH US THE PLO WOULD HAVE GIVEN US FOR THE FIRST TIME SOMETHING TO WORK WITH IN FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION PROBLEM THAT WILL BE SATISFACTORY TO ALL CONCERNED. WE CAN DISCUSS THIS IN MORE DETAIL WITH FAHMY IN SEPTEMBER, BUT HE CAN BE ASSURED THAT WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT WHEN THE ARABS SPEAK OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, THEY MEAN PLO REPRESENTATION.

(FYI: WE APPRECIATE FAHMY WOULD LIKE US TO GO A STEP FARTHER AT THIS POINT AND COMMIT OURSELVES TO PRESS FOR

PLO PARTICIPATION IN A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION. THE PLO HAS NOT YET EVEN ACCEPTED RESOLUTION 242, HOWEVER, AND GIVEN THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE ISSUE COUPLED WITH THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF THE PLO, WE DO NOT WANT TO GO THIS NEXT STEP AT THIS TIME. IN FACT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THE ARABS WOULD NO DOUBT INSIST THAT THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION IN A UNIFIED DELEGATION BE AT LEAST IN PART PLO, AND THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO SELL THIS TO ISRAEL IF THE CONCEPT OF A UNIFIED DELEGATION WERE TO HAVE ANY MEANING. END FYI.) VANCE

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DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:JTHYDEN APPROVED BY:S/S-O:JTHYDEN

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O 190755Z AUG 77 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 197410

**NODIS** 

FOR BRZEZINSKI EYES ONLY

FOLLOWING SECSTATE 197410 SENT ACTION CAIRO AUG 19, 1977 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 197410

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, EG, US

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PAGE 03 STATE 197410

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PAGE 04 STATE 197410

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## Message Attributes

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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009

Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:

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Reference: 77 CAIRO 13686

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**Review Content Flags:** 

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Subject: FAHMY\'S SCENARIO FOR GENEVA TAGS: PBOR, PDEV, PBTS, PREL, EAID, EG, US, XF, PLO

To: CAIRO Type: TE

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released **US Department of State** EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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